

Approved For Release 1999/08/14 : CIA-RDP82-00457R001
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Next Review Date: 2008

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP
~~INTELLIGENCE REPORT~~

25X1A2g
126695

COUNTRY Spain
SUBJECT Opposition Groups inside Spain

DATE: 25X1A6a
INFO. [redacted]
DIST. 13 November 1947
PAGES 4
SUPPLEMENT

ORIGIN 25X1A6a [redacted] 25X1X6

[redacted]

25X1X6

[redacted]

The Communist Party

1. The Communist Party is at present out of touch with all the others. Having been expelled recently from the Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas - in which it had figured only nominally - it is devoting its energies to combatting all the other leftist movements. It is awaiting detailed and concrete instructions from its exile Central Committee to begin a campaign against the present Republican Government because that government has excluded Communists from the Cabinet. Undermined by police spies, who have managed to worm their way into the inner circles of the party without being discovered, it is the victim of all the round-ups by which the police make a record to justify their existence. Any relations with Communists therefore are very difficult from the point of view of personal security. In addition, there is the ever-present suspicion engendered by the party's elusive political position and the disloyal conduct which is standard tactics for it. It is probable that it will begin a new propaganda campaign in which anti-franquism will serve as a cover for a continuous attack on all the other parties and organizations. The hope of the Communists is that hunger and poverty, the traditional agents of Communism, will drive the Spanish people to the point of seeing in Communism the only possible redemption. The real strength of this party inside Spain is impossible to state accurately. Although it is not as great as the propaganda of Franco would have one believe, no doubt the Communists have a large number of Russian sympathizers.

The Socialist Party

2. The Socialist Party cannot be studied without separation of its three groups:
a) The faction represented by Negrin, Alvarez del Vayo and their confederates follows the ideology of the Communist Party and works

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in close cooperation with it. Its members secretly may even be Communists, attempting, in the tradition of Soviet politics, infiltration of the Socialist Party. It is not likely, however, that they will succeed in this maneuver because the affiliates of this pro-Soviet group of the Socialist Party have no contact with or influence on the other groups of the party.

b) The Prieto faction follows enthusiastically the policy predicated by its Messiah, who fundamentally is interested in the restoration of the monarchy as a guarantee against being held responsible for past errors and as an assurance of a position in the government. Today this group can be considered as the strongest of the Socialist Party, since it is supported by a considerable current of opinion outside the party, which subscribes to the Prieto thesis on the theory of the lesser evil. Recently, the clarification of Prieto's motives, and the slim foundation for his miraculous projects, has diminished the favor of this group, but if at any time the possibilities for the overthrow of Franco increase, its strength will grow. The Spanish people, discouraged and suffering, think only of saving themselves, and if they were given the choice between a monarchy today and a republic within six months, the monarchy would have the support of the majority. This sector of the Socialist Party is incorporated, together with the third group, in the so-called ANFD, in which it seems now to represent the party, as its sister faction did until recently.

c) The group which supports the Executive Committee is a fairly extensive and significant group. In order not to widen differences and foment dissensions, it has pledged itself to a role secondary to that of the Prieto faction. The members of this group put no faith in tangible results from the activity of Prieto and they privately regret their position, but they believe that they ought to keep their differences within the party. They may be expected to act as the go-betweens if it is decided to try a practical rapprochement of all opposition organizations.

d) Finally, just as the Negrin group is markedly pro-Communist, there are in the Socialist Party many individuals who identify themselves with the Republic, even though they do not form an autonomous group with defined direction and characteristics. Their number varies greatly with circumstances, since the majority of them want above all to be free of the Franco regime.

The CNT

3. The CNT offers less confused lines of cleavage, although it presents a radical division.

a) On the one hand, its directive elements have repeatedly demonstrated their irresponsibility in propaganda as well as in their declarations of policy. They have given evidence of their pro-monarchist leanings by their notorious rapprochement attempts. They were and are a part of the ANFD, whose chief leadership was their responsibility during some of its worst periods. Their anti-Communism is positive.

b) On the other hand, the great majority of the CNT young people desire the restoration of the Republic, but their lack of representation in the directive councils enables the CNT leaders to maintain the opposite position.

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The Alianza Republicana Espanola

4. The ARE is a sort of phantom organization created and sponsored by the Socialists and Genetistas at the time when the Republicans who founded and organized the ANFD withdrew from it because of its anti-republican inclinations. The Socialist Party and the CNT needed a straw party and created the ARE with scattered and poorly controlled republican elements. The ARE never had any strength except in the Levante, and to some extent in Andalucia. If the Republican parties had at present an effective directorate, the ARE would have disappeared entirely. It is alive because of the need for phantom republican organizations to reinforce the position of Prieto inside Spain, which the ANFD has made its own.

The ANFD

5. Politically dead a few weeks ago, the ANFD has begun a slow resurrection with the appearance of Prieto on the exile political scene. Today its laborious reorganization is fostered by the residual elements of the ARE, the guiding element of the CNT and almost all the PSOE, either actively or passively.

The Union Republicana

6. Although the UR is a party of sane tradition and great prestige among Spanish liberals, its national organization has been shattered. There is still an extensive provincial and regional organization, but there is no national cohesion. The UR has always defended the Republican Institutions with greater tenacity than any other group. It was the propagator of the Bloque Republicano and was the organization most firmly opposed to the ANFD, whose past failure was in large part its achievement. It is to be regretted that this party today lacks intelligent, capable and bold leadership.

The Izquierda Republicana

7. The IR is seriously riddled with inner quarrels. During the time when the Bloque functioned, the IR cooperated wholeheartedly, but lately the alienation of its directors from those of the UR, and vice versa, has upset everything that had been accomplished.

The Bloque Republicano

8. The Bloque Republicano was formed at the height of the ANFD's power, to oppose the collaborationist tendencies of that organization. This opposition for a time was successful. However, because of the forced retirement of certain republican leaders, for some time this formerly vigorous organization has been completely inactive. Nevertheless it could be quickly reactivated with encouragement from the exile government and well-integrated action on the part of the Republican parties.

The Partido Federal

9. The Partido Federal is a sentimental memory in the hearts of all republicans. There exist only traces of it and it has no organization inside Spain.

Other Leftist Organizations and Groups

10. A study of the situation of the leftist camp inside Spain should include reference to the regional political organizations and the so-called clandestine military organizations.

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- a) The Basques are well known for their magnificent organizations, their exemplary activity and their limitless self-denial. They are an example of what all Spain should be.
- b) Among the Catalans the difference between the Esquerra and the parties who make up the Consell is notable. The Esquerra supports the republican institutions, with a certain local coloration. The other sectors, who some time ago joined the ANFD, seem to be favorably disposed to continue in it, but the possibility should not be overlooked that they may withdraw.
- c) Regarding the so-called Guerrillas and the AFARE, there has been no significant change lately in their status. The guerrillas do not obey the Communist Party. Furthermore, they lack strength and cohesive organization. In regard to the reorganized AFARE, professional military men do not belong to it and it lacks the strength it pretends to have. It has no national scope and can be considered confined to Aragon and Catalonia. It is not important even in those regions. It has no commands and no weapons. Its directors are looking for money everywhere.

Rightist Groups

11. Some reference should be made to the so-called rightist sectors, even to say that they do not exist except for occasional individuals who represent nothing and have no following. Those who once constituted these groups today are being used by the present regime to give it the appearance of having undergone some modification. In these categories are included the Progressives, the Radicals, the Agrarians, the Reformists, etc.
12. The Catholic Movement today is the best organized and most extensive movement in Spain and offers perils for the future of democracy. Its political position is completely pro-Franco, even when it goes counter to the instructions of the Pope and his Nuncio. All the hierarchy, with five or six exceptions, is loyal to Franco. However, if Spain were liberated, the Catholics would adopt some such guise as a Partido Social Catolico, which would be the most powerful and best organized force to unite the conservative and reactionary forces in case of a plebiscite. Gil Robles or any other person of equal stature is not likely again to gain control of the Catholic movement, because he is considered to be tainted by a liberalism which runs counter to the medieval atmosphere of Spanish Catholic politics.
13. The monarchists, considered by themselves, are nothing more than a decadent aristocracy, but the possibility cannot be eliminated that for contrary reasons franquists and leftists may unite behind the monarchy - the former to save something, the latter to obtain certain guarantees.
14. The loyalty of the Army to Franco is obvious. The few "retired" generals who appear to oppose him lack sufficient following in the army to attempt any positive action; furthermore, they are motivated by rancor, and if they received any offer from Franco their attitude would change.
15. Banking circles, but for the risk of nationalization, would be decidedly anti-Franco, since he and his ministers arbitrarily force them to back up their extravagances and financial madness. This is the reason why high banking circles have watched hopefully the development of Prieto's maneuvers. Industry and commerce, except where favored by the regime with virtual monopolies, are not favorable to the present regime, whose compulsory taxes of all kinds burden their payrolls very heavily. These sectors also have followed with interest the machinations of Prieto.

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